



SECRETARY OF STATE DULLES discusses with his Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, Carl W. McCardle, the role of public opinion in developing his policy of . . .

WORKING TOWARD PEACE BY . . .

Using Power Boldly

One day in September, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles (cover) shooed his aides and advisers out of his luxurious office in the State Dept. He hauled a jackknife out of his pocket and a pile of pencils out of his desk, sat down with his elbows on his knees, and began to whittle into a wastebasket. Every now and then he jotted a note on a big yellow pad such as lawyers like to use.

President Eisenhower's Secretary of State looked more like a country lawyer cogitating on a back stoop in Dulles' home town of Watertown, N. Y., than the most technically trained diplomat the U. S. has ever had.

It would have been hard to guess that he was wrestling with the most terrifying challenge that ever has faced humanity. But his notes and his whittling told the story. The peace he had to be defined that challenge to the U. N.

General Assembly in New York on Sept. 17. Dulles said:

"Physical scientists have now found the means which, if they are developed, can wipe life off the surface of this planet. These words that I speak are words that can be taken literally. The destructive power inherent in matter must be controlled by the idealism of the spirit and the wisdom of the mind. They alone stand between us and a lifeless planet."

• **Grim Choices**—These words weren't Sunday rhetoric coming from Dulles. They succinctly defined the problem and the answer as he sees it. More than anyone except perhaps Georgi Malenkov, Dulles' performance during the period ahead will determine whether the U. S. will be converted into a bristling electronic fortress, whether it will be converted into a lifeless planet, or whether it will be converted into radioactive dust.

The Kremlin has or soon will have the power to cripple the U. S. in a single apocalyptic raid. That faces the U. S. government with three brutally stark choices:

- Wage preventive war. That's ruled out by the moral convictions and traditions of the West.

- Build a fortress America, backed by guided missiles, to shield the U. S. from a fatal blow. It might not work. It would cost tens of billions, permanently unbalance the economy. It would leave our Allies undefended and vulnerable to Communist political conquest. It's not ruled out but it's a last resort.

- Gamble on the power of diplomacy to avoid war.

We'll try the third—up to the ultimate limit of national safety. And Dulles will be in the forefront, as he was last weekend at the foreign ministers' meeting in London.

- **Difficult Road**—Though moral force is almost a slogan with Dulles—stemming from his lifelong dedication to and activities in the Protestant church—the secretary is steadily taking a line of more toughness toward the Soviets. He also is willing to risk difficulty with U. S. Allies by using the whip to make them pull their weight both militarily and diplomatically.

The policy he is developing, like any U. S. foreign policy, is terribly difficult to carry out. A U. S. Secretary of State going into diplomatic battle never is without Congressional kibitzing. And in this H-bomb era, he has the continuing nettle of Western European faintheartedness attached to him.

These problems have been the nightmare of Secretaries of State since the war. Secretary Byrnes left the State Dept. embittered. General Marshall, a national hero, left with his laurels wilted. Dean Acheson was so badly mauled by Jan. 20 that his wounds will be long in healing.

So Dulles went into the job with his eyes open. He witnessed Acheson's ordeal at first hand. Although Dulles dreamed of becoming Secretary of State at an age when most boys want to be firemen or cowboys, Acheson's tribulations nearly changed his mind.

I. Steering through Storms

An inbred dualism in Dulles between idealism and realism frequently has troubled his friends and offered targets to his foes. It had him on the ropes often during his first five or six months in office, and Washington cocktail gossip has had him fired more than once.

A crusading hatred of communism "liberating" the satellites, and "unleashing" Chiang

"... then abruptly the tide changed; Dulles got his second wind ..."

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Kai-shek. These outbursts sent a shock of fear through our Allies that rocked the free world alliance.

His politically realistic efforts to court Congressional support also whipped up indignation abroad.

When he boasted, on his return from a NATO meeting last spring, that he had "talked turkey" to the Europeans about rearmament and unification, European statesmen blanched. And they complained when he said there either would be a European Army including German divisions pronto or there would be no more U. S. aid.

• **Target**—For months, it seemed as though Dulles couldn't open his mouth without getting into trouble. Congress plagued Dulles though he had courted Capitol Hill. Democrats accused him of substituting phony and dangerous psychological warfare for solid and sober containment. Republicans damned him for continuing containment, rather than doing something decisive about Korea. All sides second-guessed him at the time of Stalin's death and of the East German uprising, critical that he did not somehow seize upon a dramatic policy for the West.

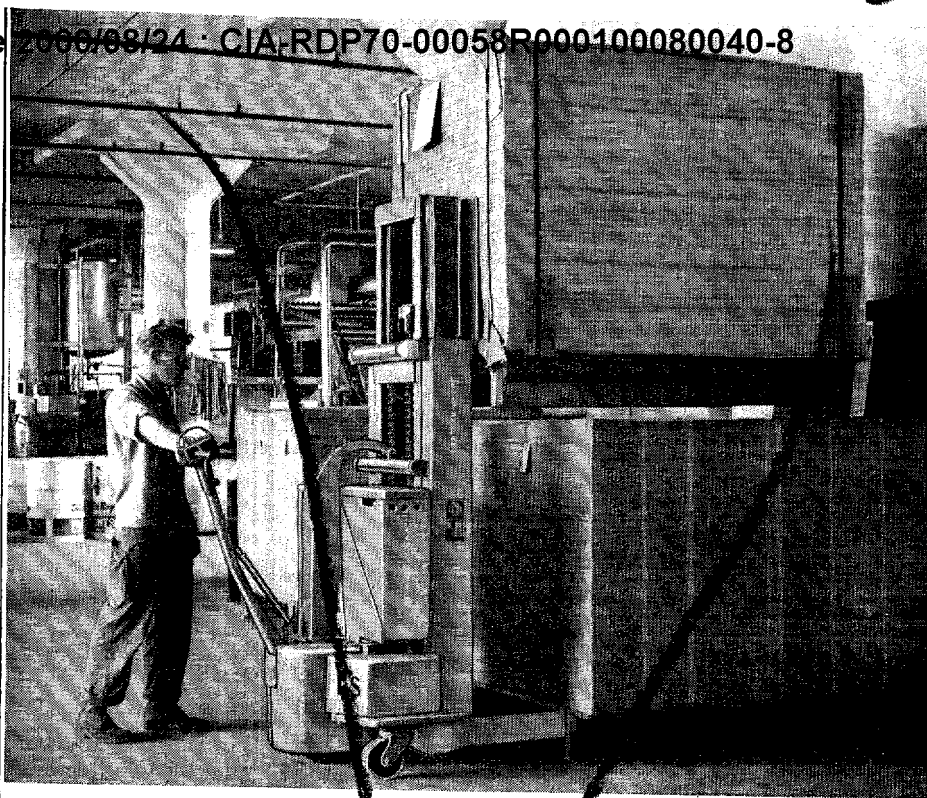
He fenced clumsily with Sen. McCarthy over the senator's deal with Greek shipowners, "book burning" in U. S. overseas libraries, the Voice of America, East-West trade. The net impression left abroad was that Dulles was appeasing McCarthy.

Wiseacres on Capitol Hill and Embassy Row ridiculed him by conjugating his name, "dull, duller, Dulles." He was dubbed a "Wall Street Christian." Even some of Dulles' friends asked anxiously, "What's the matter with Foster?"

• **Turning**—Then abruptly the tide changed; apparently Dulles got his second wind. The truce in Korea came—something the Democrats had failed to get in two years of negotiation. And there's little doubt but that Dulles' blunt warning to Peking—transmitted as he thought it would be through India's Nehru—that the U. S. would expand the war if it couldn't end it helped convince the Communists to call it quits.

Dulles warned the Japanese diet that U. S. troops couldn't defend Japan forever. That stirred up angry resentment in newly sovereign Japan. Yet the Japanese now are preparing to rearm.

Another \$385-million was found to stiffen sagging French morale in Indo-China—decisions that pleased the economy-minded congressmen. The



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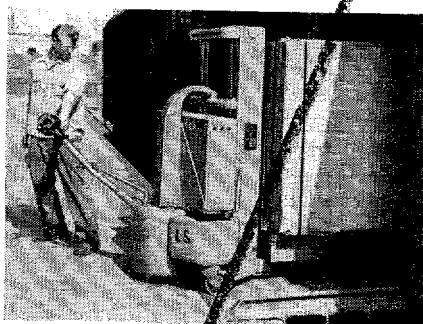
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move of the West in the world Communist press was a new preparation for imperialist aggression. The minds of hundreds of millions of people have been swayed by successive Soviet "peace offensives."

The biggest Russian peace drive of all was launched by Malenkov after Stalin's death. The new Soviet Premier declared that all conflicts between East and West could be settled by negotiation.

But Dulles sat tight waiting for the results of the German elections. He was flayed daily in the European press. Then Adenauer's smashing victory ruled out the possibility that the Kremlin might try to trade Eastern Germany for a neutral Germany, aloof from the West, that could be sucked behind the Iron Curtain.

• **Taking the Peace Offensive**—Dulles went on the offensive. He picked up Prime Minister Churchill's idea of offering Russia some sort of security guarantee. He developed it into a tentative formula for a German settlement under which the Russians would get out of Germany and permit free elections in exchange for nonaggression pacts.

Dulles, meanwhile, has kept prodding the Chinese for a Korean political conference and will keep it up. The result has been to throw Malenkov's peace offensive into reverse.

II. Philosophy & Pattern

The thinking behind Dulles' peace offensive brings his operating philosophy into sharp focus. He thinks the odds are a thousand to one against settlement of any major cold war conflicts any time soon. His reason is simple: A negotiated settlement means two-way concessions. The concessions the U.S. would demand from the Kremlin would be substantial. The concessions Dulles would be willing to make would be trivial.

Take Germany for instance. Dulles wants Russian troops to clear out of Eastern Germany. But in return he could offer the Russians only some guarantees against German or Western military aggression.

Dulles won't agree to neutralizing Germany, scrapping the European Army, or any other concessions the Russians would be likely to demand. He would not even guarantee any borders west of Russia's own frontier against political and economic penetration from the West.

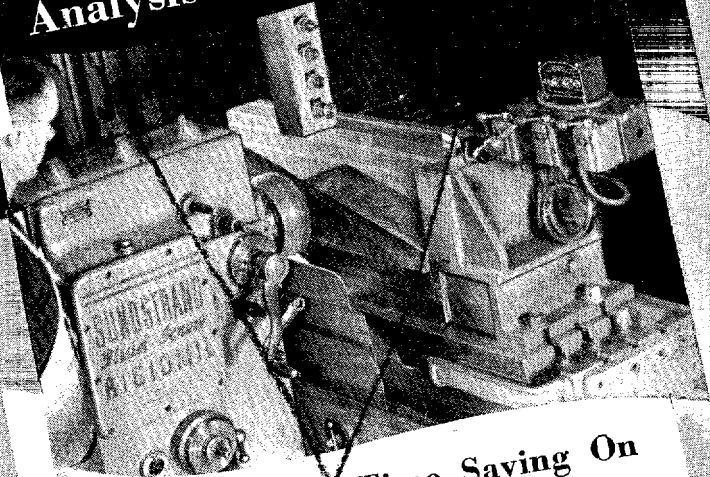
Dulles wants to keep world opinion behind him by convincing people that Washington is more anxious to end the cold war than Moscow.

• **Hopes and Prospects**—That doesn't mean that Dulles doesn't hope for limited cold war settlements eventually. He believes they will come as the Krem-

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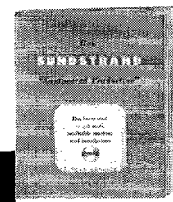


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mother's. He, his brother Allen, and three sisters trudged to the Presbyterian church in Watertown, N. Y., three times every Sunday to hear their father preach. Then the whole family would march home triumphantly chanting hymns at the top of their voices.

While they were still in grammar school, Foster and Allen spent long afternoons debating the issues of the Boer War with grandfather John Foster, Secretary of State under President Benjamin Harrison, and uncle Robert Lansing, later Secretary of State under Woodrow Wilson. Foster Dulles went to the Hague conference at the age of 19, and has been in foreign policy activities ever since.

- **Spiritual Side**—His conception of the nature of the struggle with the Kremlin seems more appropriate to his father's pulpit than to a diplomatic reception. The conflict is essentially a spiritual one, as he sees it, between atheistic materialism and the dignity of the individual grounded in religious faith and the moral law. There can be no quarter in this spiritual war until one side or the other collapses or renounces its basic doctrines. Guns and goods can delay or hasten the decision and modify its specific form, he admits, but they cannot determine it.

- **And Worldly**—Dulles learned a more worldly wisdom from John Foster and Robert Lansing. Ideals and the moral law rule nations only if they are translated into practical policies by brains and brawn.

This teaching enabled Dulles to rise from a \$50-a-month law clerk to become senior partner of Sullivan & Cromwell and reputedly the highest-paid lawyer in the world. It permitted him to help forge most of the major U. S. postwar foreign policies for President Truman and still to take time out to counsel Gov. Dewey in the 1948 campaign.

He was able to force the Japanese Treaty on the Russians, our allies, and the U. S. Congress. And a few months later he sawed out the foreign policy plank in the 1952 GOP platform that bridged the abyss between the nationalist and internationalist wings in the party.

- **Strength**—At 64, he is robust, and sound as a nut. The only marks of his strenuous diplomatic career are a slight tic in one eye and an occasional aristocratic twinge of gout. He still plays tennis and golf, enjoys bass fishing, and likes to squire Mrs. Dulles on the rounds of social activity in Washington whenever possible.

Moreover, he has—for the time being at least—stilled serious criticism from the left and right. He has more political strength today than any Secretary of State since the early days of